1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

At night each family group lay on the sands
521 talking a little, laughing a little. I made it a custom of visiting every night, and usually the men gathered around. The woman, keeping in the background, made all sorts of inquiries concerning my country and people, but always through the men.

831 One cannot live on intimate terms with a group of people a week
123 without learning something of their sexual attitudes. Only too often is this factor dangled in front of him, so that if he were to base his report on recurrent experiences and situations it would be largely made up of sex and sex problems. However, the sexual element is strongly present, but it is in normal cases a simple matter.

121 A simple matter but of exceeding importance if we are to believe the psychologists. Basic to life, and to social organization, the attitude toward it has its effect on the life of the individual and on the culture, but equal the make-up of the indidivual and the culture produces the sexual attitude.

836 To begin with, this writer does not know anything about the sexual development of Yaruro boy or girl. He does not know what secret sexual play the children may indulge in, nor does he know whether the unmarried girl has any sexual relations. He thinks that the un-
● 838 married do. He also thinks that there is some kind of homosexuality among the boys, and even the men. The following is based on what he observed, heard, and saw without any undue prying about.

857 The sexes are kept apart from infancy. A baby girl is launched
855 into her future career as a woman almost from birth. She is the
593 special care of the mother and women folk. When she is able to play she plays alone, with other girls, or with the women. She never plays with the boys. When she is able to work she helps her mother, never her father nor her elder brothers. She may be helped in her work by her brother.

593 It is impossible to claim that the attachment is stronger between the mother and children than between the father and daughter. It would be necessary to investigate the problem from the psychological point of view. But such is the case socially and economically.

The maternal uncle does to a certain degree substitute for the father, but this substitution is formal and social.

817 From babyhood the child learns his relationship to those about
602 him. One woman is its mother. She it is who gives suck, holds, etc. Later he learns that he must call other women mother also. These are the sisters of his true mother. One man he learns to call father. This man is the one who is most with his mother, in whose canoe
602 they travel, etc. Other men he calls father also, the brothers of his true father. Thus relationships are defined sexually, familiarly, and formally. In respect to girls of his own age he learns that some he calls sisters and others by terms whose equivalent may be rendered

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Even if there were stronger interest in sex than seemed to exist, there would be little opportunity for the youngsters to indulge in any sexual relations, since their playmates tend to be parallel cousins and very often playmates are lacking altogether. In the small hunting groups often there may be only one or two unmarried young people. Under such conditions a boy would either have to seek sex relations with one of his moiety sisters or practice adultery with a woman of the opposite moiety living with his own hunting group. We may presume that neither incest nor adultery are unknown to the Yaruros. During my stay among them there was no evidence of that.

Another factor which tends to help the Yaruros live a strictly moral life is that upon reaching puberty both boys and girls marry if a mate is available, even though the wife or husband may be considerably older. Premarital romantic love life may be entirely absent on this account, but one suspects that another type of romanticism may be built on what is available. For instance, practically from babyhood the boy or girl knows whom he or she will marry and in waiting for the promised day one would suspect an emotional attitude is built up. It is certain that after marriage strong bonds of affection are developed between husband and wife. Strictly limited in choice, there can be no free play for one's desires.

In the Yaruro society prostitution is probably absent. I believe that today some degree of prostitution has been forced upon them by the peoples with whom they come in contact. Perhaps we should call it purchasing of sexual rights, with the Yaruros playing a docile if not hostile part. After all, they are forced to acquiesce in a great many practices foreign to their ideas.

The above is the sexual ambient. As a result the adults act in the following manner. Sexual intercourse is considered one of the numerous natural acts. It is not exaggerated, little talked or joked about, and judging from the sort of life they lead not over indulged in.

Among the men, woman is not discussed. Neither virtue nor sin is the subject of comment. She is let strictly alone and uncensored. Obscenity is rare.

If any homosexuality exists it must be established by inference. It is common among the hunting tribes for a man to have a companion with whom he hunts, travels, and with whom he spends most of his time. Such companionship seems to be closer before marriage than after.

I have observed two boys, unmarried because no girls were available, engaged in such acts as we are accustomed to impute to love making—holding hands, etc. Yet, lest we jump at hasty conclusions, it must be said that affection between men is demonstrated much more so than

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

838 572 among ourselves. Also, it is true that these acts are never to be seen between man and woman. For instance, I remember young men loafing at my camp with their arm around each other's necks, and even clasped in a tight embrace face to face in each other's arms, though standing up. I never observed any physical sexual excitement, though.

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

861 858 There is no direct and organized teaching of the children. They learn from example and from the precepts laid down by the adults in discussions, generally held at night. Certainly the child is not made to feel that he is the center of attraction; rather he is tolerated, though watched with fond eyes by the adults. The children are never admonished to do this or that or negatively. It may be said that they are put into a pattern of behavior, and the bonds of this pattern are indeed close and strong. There is no breaking them as long as life lasts. It must not be thought that these bonds are felt and 181 156 that there is resentment toward them. The Yaruro is in a sense tremendously individualistic, in that each individual is forced to depend on his own resources, but when it comes to group life he is merely a part of the whole.

861 851 The children are free to play, but from infancy they also share in the adult activities. A mother may make a basket, with the little daughter constantly beside her. As soon as the child is able she will help in the digging of roots, or placing them in the basket, or will help in the making of a basket, or the cooking, her share of the work gradually increasing as she grows older. However, a child is never told to do any work, but does so entirely imitatory of the adults and the older children, with complete freedom as well as free desire.

The boy in like manner imitates the older boys and the men. His games consist of constant practice with bow and arrow, but this play is done only in the late afternoon and in the evening. During the day, as soon as the child is able to do so it will accompany the mother or father in hunting for food, doing its share of the paddling, loading and unloading of the canoe, helping to carry the food, taking care of the dogs, and watching and trying to make bows and arrows, string, etc.

GROOMING

Yerkes writes of grooming as follows:

182 515 Grooming is used in this report to designate a pattern of social behavior whose essential features are visual examination, search and manipulation of the skin and hair of a companion with fingers and lips, removal of dirt, dandruff, scabs, parasites, and other extraneous materials, and their conveyance to the mouth of the groomer, whose lips, tongue, and jaws meanwhile may have